

000 wise received stimulus and suggestion from Dr. Edward Sapir. In Mexico, Dr. Manuel Gamio extended invaluable advice and practical aid. Acknowledgment is also to be made of the courteous assistance of Dr. J. Reygadas Vértiz. Señorita Elena Landazuri helped [126] largely in recording musical notation. A small part of the help received from Margaret Park Redfield, both in collecting and presenting materials, is specifically acknowledged in the following pages. Finally, the 123 writer feels a great obligation to the Tepoztecs themselves, whose friendly co-operation made this stay pleasant and showed the possibility of some day making an intensive study of Tepoztlán. Many 115 names might be mentioned, but particularly those of Don Cruz Villamil, *barrio* of Santa Cruz; Doña Soledad Villamil, *barrio* of Santa Cruz; Don Jesús Balderrama, *barrio* of Santo Domingo; Don Ignacio Cortez, *barrio* of San Sebastian; Don Gilberto Gaillard, *barrio* of San Miguel; and, most especially, Don Jesús Condé, *barrio* of San Miguel.

000 Chapters ii and iv have already appeared, in a somewhat different form, in the *American Anthropologist*.

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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*. 177
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The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined. 128
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A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochitl*¹ so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth. 843

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [*S. partera*; *N. amanteatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved 844
[846]
[755]
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¹ The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta*; and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals. [184]

² *Laclium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb. [278]

127 locating and making available to me much unpublished archive materials pertaining to Tepoztlán. He also permitted me to use his excellent private library and files on uncataloged documents in the Archivo General y Pública de la Nación. Had it not been for his cooperation and generosity, the historical sections of this study would have suffered.

000 In the course of my work in Mexico, my family and I were shown kindnesses by many people. I wish particularly to thank Julio de la Fuente, Emanuel Palacios, Angélica Castro de la Fuente, Amelia Fox, Alfonso Villa Rojas, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, and Antonio Pompa y Pompa. It was also my special privilege to work with Manuel Gamio, Mexico's elder statesman among social scientists.

[115] Our friends in Tepoztlán are too numerous for mention here, and I must thank them as a group. Needless to say, this study was made possible only by their kind cooperation. Well over one hundred Tepoztecs contributed directly as informants, and a few were among my best assistants.

[122] To Dr. Robert Redfield I am indebted for his continued interest in this study. Correspondence and discussions with him have always been stimulating and helpful. He graciously aided me in securing funds for my last two field trips. Moreover, his encouragement in this critical restudy of his own work, in the interest of science, has been a source of moral support.

[128]
[144] Dr. Theodora M. Abel and Dr. Renata A. Calabresi have been most kind to take time out from their busy schedules to analyze the Rorschach protocols and to produce Chapter 13—"The People Seen from Their Rorschach Tests." Dr. Edgar Anderson, of Washington University and the Missouri Botanical Gardens, has graciously helped with an intensive study of Tepoztecan corn. His report, "An Intensive Survey of Maize in Tepoztlán," appears as Appendix A. To my colleagues at the University of Illinois, Dr. John Albig, Dr. Erich Ahrens, Dr. J. E. Hulett, Dr. Margaret Reid, Dr. Frederick Will, and Dr. O. H. Mowrer, I am grateful for their reading of portions of the manuscript and their helpful suggestions. To Dr. George P. Murdock, Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Dr. Paul Radin, Dr. Howard Becker, and Dr. Jules Henry, I am also grateful for their comments on portions of the manuscript. I would like to thank Dr. Vera L. Maslow for her careful and critical reading of the entire manuscript.

To my wife, Ruth Maslow Lewis, I am deeply indebted for her collaboration in all aspects of the field work and for her aid in the preparation of the manuscript.

122 Field work was begun with several preliminary visits to Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages of the municipio.¹⁵ On one of these visits I brought letters of recommendation from the governor of the state of Morelos to the local municipal authorities, who were very helpful and who became our first informants. With their aid we rented a house in the village where I lived with my family. It was my purpose during the first month to establish rapport, locate informants, select representative families to be studied, and generally prepare the way for the coming of the student assistants from the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología who were to help with the field work.

123 Establishing ourselves in the village presented few difficulties. Because of the frequent coming and going of tourists, the presence of a few outsiders created no particular stir. However, during the first few months we heard rumors that we were spies from the U. S. A. with imperialistic designs,¹⁶ that we were Protestant missionaries come to change the religion,¹⁷ that we were agents of the Mexican government studying the economy for the purpose of raising taxes, and that we were trying to locate all youths eligible for conscription, a burning issue in the village at that time. Fortunately for the project, the rumors never became widespread and did not present any serious obstacles. With the exception of a single incident which occurred after the investigation had been going smoothly for four months, there were many manifestations of good will and cooperativeness on the part of Tepoztecos. Throughout the study, rapport with our selected families and other informants was excellent.

The circle of our acquaintances and informants in the village was extended considerably because our Mexican student assistants lived with families in each of the barrios and made many friends on their own initiative. Also, some of Redfield's informants were still alive, remembered him well, and were eager to work with us. On our return to the village in 1947 after an absence of three years, we were impressed by the enthusiasm with which we were greeted. The very fact that we had returned seemed to have automatically increased their confidence in us. In our last two summer field trips we were therefore able to obtain data of a much more personal and intimate nature than before.

other avenue of research. What is practically urgent to man, whether it be desirable or detestable, whether inspiring or galling, soon becomes a collective drive, that is, a relevant social force." Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Anthropology of Changing African Cultures," *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memo. XV (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1938).

¹⁵ I am indebted to Julio de la Fuente for accompanying me on these first visits; it was partly on the basis of his counsel that Tepoztlán was selected for study.

¹⁶ We learned later that this rumor was begun by a Sinarquist agent from Mexico City who visited the village regularly during our stay and had succeeded in organizing a small Sinarquist unit in the village.

¹⁷ Shortly after we moved into Tepoztlán we were visited by a delegation of Tepoztecos who wanted to know if we were connected with the YMCA project that was operating nearby in the municipio of Tepoztlán, and we were asked pointedly if we had come to change the religion. We explained that we were in no way connected with a religious organization, and that our purpose was to study the customs of the people and to learn of their needs. Apparently they were satisfied with our answer. The leader of this group later became one of our friends and informants.

123 culturation, we found that there was a greater willingness among the better-to-do
 124 and more acculturated families on our list to have one of our staff live with them.
 Some of the poorer families who expressed willingness to accept a student were
 unable to do so because of very crowded living conditions. Many of these poorer
 families were large and lived in a single room.

124 We were now ready to begin the accumulation of a great variety of information
 on every family in the village. Each assistant was made responsible for gathering
 115 the data in his barrio. In the three smaller barrios, none of which had over forty
 621 families, it was possible to get a few informants who knew quite intimately most
 families in their barrios. In these smaller barrios, for instance, practically any male
 adult knew quite well who did or did not own land or other property. In the larger
 barrios no single informant was well acquainted with more than a small percentage
 of the families, and we therefore had to use many more informants. In effect, we

125 were doing a census in each barrio, with the number of items investigated progres-
 sively increasing as our rapport improved, and as we felt free to ask more questions.
 Among the items of information which we eventually obtained for each family
 were (1) ownership of property, such as house, land, cattle and other animals,
 fruit trees, and sewing machines; (2) occupation and sources of income; (3) marital
 status, number of marriages, barrio of origin or birthplace of each spouse, kinship
 of all persons then living on the same house site, and other related items;
 (4) social participation and positions of leadership; (5) educational level and
 whether or not any of the children had attended school outside the village. These
 items were obtained on all families and were supplemented by a number of partial
 surveys on other items. In addition to the information which we obtained our-
 selves, we also utilized and checked much of the information contained in the
 census of 1940. We had obtained a special breakdown of the municipio census by
 [127] individual villages from the Federal Department of Statistics. The information on
 all these items was checked independently by at least two informants.

124 Getting accurate data on land-ownership in Tepoztlán was a difficult and delicate
 127 matter because of general suspicion of the motives of anyone who undertakes such
 a study. Our staff worked for many weeks copying the property listing in the local
 423 property register for every family in the village. These findings were then com-
 [123] pared with the information independently obtained from informants. Many dis-
 crepancies were found. The information which we obtained from informants in-
 dicated that approximately fifteen of the people who owned land according to our
 informants were not registered as landowners. On the other hand, we found
 several cases of land registered in the name of individuals who were not known
 by our informants to be landowners. By checking all cases in which there was a
 discrepancy between the data in the register and those of our informants, we believe
 that we arrived at a reasonably accurate picture of the real situation. In this con-
 nection we learned that there was a higher incidence of unregistered land in the
 outlying villages of the municipio, where such matters are less easily controlled by
 local authorities.

126 The question of the size of land plots presented much more difficult problems
 423 than the question of land-ownership. Tepoztecans still do not think basically in

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terms of hectares, but rather in terms of the amount of seed needed to plant a plot. Thus a peasant will say he planted so many *cuartillos* of corn or beans, rather than so many hectares or *tareas*. In Tepoztlán the number of *cuartillos* of corn that will cover one hectare varies according to the size of seed and the type of terrain. By and large, however, Tepoztecs consider that ten *cuartillos* of *maíz ancha*, the prevalent type of corn used, make up one hectare in lands used for plow agriculture, which are the only privately owned lands and the only ones we were concerned with. We measured and paced numerous milpas with the aid of the two Mexican agronomists, and found that the quantity of seed for one hectare of land varied between nine and one-half to twelve *cuartillos* of corn. On this basis we accepted the Tepoztec figure of ten *cuartillos* as reasonably accurate and have used it throughout the study. In checking sample plots for size, we found that the size of plots registered was quite accurate. However, the value of land registered had no relationship to its current value.

With the help of the agronomists, we mapped all the village sites as well as some of the outlying agricultural lands near some of the barrios. On my later visits to the village in 1947 and 1948, I did a study of land types and land use with the assistance of Alberto Beltrán, who drew the maps and aided in surveys. We also carefully examined the municipal records, from which we obtained data on births and deaths over a ten-year period, the number of marriages over an eight-year period, the municipal income and expenditures for a fifteen-year period, and the number and types of court cases from 1926 to 1944.

We would like to say a word about our use of Tepoztecs as assistants. We took advantage of the presence of a number of intelligent and fairly well-educated Tepoztecs in the village by employing them as assistants in many of the surveys. This saved us a great deal of time and effort, and we were able to collect a wider variety of data than would otherwise have been possible. In addition to surveys, we obtained autobiographies, written accounts of experiences during the Revolution, a daily record over a short period of all visitors to the Municipal Palace and the purpose of the visits, written accounts of the local political situation by various political figures in the village, collections of stories, jokes, and sayings, and case histories of quarrels among neighbors and among relatives. We were gratified that several of our Tepoztec assistants proved to be such helpful and reliable workers.

While we were gathering this information for the village as a whole, each of our student assistants was recording data and observations on the families with which they were living. A long, detailed guide for observing and recording behavioral data and for the writing of life histories was prepared by Ruth Lewis as an aid to the students. Again, we secured the cooperation of the more educated members of families in keeping daily records, in answering special questionnaires, or in writing up special subjects.

The testing program was carried out in the school, and the testing group was made up of fifty children of school age selected from our list of twenty-one representative families. The families represented each of the socio-economic levels and each of the barrios. The psychological tests which we endeavored to give to each child in the testing group were the Rorschach, the Grace-Arthur Performance Scale,

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and in leading the hymns and *Te Deums*. He is paid one peso for each Mass and fifty centavos for each *Te Deum*.

(3) The *rezanderos* are men who make a vocation of religion by memorizing many prayers and hiring themselves out to intone these prayers for others on special occasions. For example, if someone loses a horse or cow and wishes to ask San Pedro to help him find the animal he will pay one or two pesos to a *rezandero* to go to the chapel in the barrio of San Pedro and recite the appropriate prayer.

Although the *rezandero* is not recognized by the church as a functionary he is thought of as such by the populace. Some *rezanderos* play an important role in local religious life and enjoy certain prestige. The more skilled have a large repertory of prayers and deliver them with the impressive skill of a priest. It is interesting to note that the two most important *rezanderos*, both of whom were our informants, were also political leaders; one in the Cristero movement, the other in the opposing leftist group. The latter, incidentally, became the first Protestant in Tepoztlán. At present there are approximately ten *rezanderos* in the village and the majority of these live in the Barrio of Santo Domingo.

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(4) The members and respective officers of the religious associations are a type of lay church functionaries. Many of these associations were founded in colonial times and had a long history of ups and downs. They suffered misfortunes during the struggle for independence and during the Reform and the Revolution but were always reorganized in times of peace. Some of these associations are national and international in character, such as the Asociación Guadalupeña, the Apostolado de la Oración, and the Acción Católica; others are essentially local and lack external ties. We shall describe the more important of these organizations.

a) The Asociación de la Vela Perpetua, the objective of which is to give homage to the *Santísimo Sacramento* by permanently maintaining a lighted candle on the altar. The Asociación consists of thirty-one women who identify themselves by wearing a medal suspended on a white ribbon. Each member dedicates one day a month to keeping vigil at the altar. Membership is limited to the maximum number of days in a month and this society is considered honorific and select. In the days of Díaz only the wives of *caciques* were members. The organization has a president, secretary, and treasurer; apart from its routine religious activity, this society serves no other social function.

b) Asociación del Apostolado de la Oración celebrates the first Friday of each month. Although men may join, the present membership consists of twenty-five to thirty women. The distinguishing mark is a medal worn on a red ribbon. It is interesting to note that although this organization has different levels of membership to stimulate the mystic devotion of its members, in Tepoztlán the members fulfill only the rituals of the first order without aspiring to the superior orders.

c) Asociación Guadalupeña celebrates the twelfth day of each month in honor of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Membership is made up of thirty women.

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d) The Cofradía de la Virgen del Carmen is a sisterhood of about thirty women who celebrate the sixteenth day of each month. The scapulary of the Virgin del

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at large. A study of the personnel of each of the local government administrations (*ayuntamientos*) from 1926 to 1947 gives no support to Redfield's statement that politics, like the religious fiestas, are in the hands of the *toníos*.

The use of the terms "*tonío*" and "*correcto*" to designate social groups, which did not and do not exist and operate as such, makes much of Redfield's analysis of Tepoztecan society oversimplified, schematic, and unreal. We found a much wider range of custom and belief among the so-called "*toníos*" than was reported by Redfield, and by the same token there was less of a gap between the *toníos* and *correctos*. While Redfield's concept would tend to make for two cultures, we see Tepoztlán as a single culture, with more and less acculturated individuals in close and frequent contact, each influencing the other, as they have for the past four hundred years.

IMPLICATIONS OF OUR DIFFERENCES

More important than the differences in our findings is the question of how to explain these differences. I suppose that in a sense it is inevitable that different students studying the same society will arrive at different conclusions. Certainly the personal factor, and what Redfield has recently referred to as the element of art in social science, cannot be overlooked.⁵ Nevertheless the differences in our findings on Tepoztlán are of such magnitude as to demand some further and more detailed explanation.

Some of the differences in our data can be explained by changes which have occurred in the village in the interim of nearly twenty years between our studies. These changes have already been outlined in an earlier publication⁶ and are discussed throughout this book. Other differences result from the difference in the general scope of the two studies. This study had the advantage of having Redfield's pioneer work to start with, the assistance of Mexican personnel, more than twice the amount of time for field work, and the development, during the past twenty years, of new approaches and methods, especially in the field of culture and personality. The much greater emphasis upon economic analysis in this study also reflects a fairly recent trend in anthropology. In addition, the fact that this study was based on the testimony of well over one hundred informants, as compared to about a half-dozen used by Redfield, revealed a wide range of individual differences and enabled more thorough checking of data.

Still other differences, such as those summarized in the preceding pages, must be attributed for the most part to differences in theoretical orientation and methodology which in turn influenced the selection and coverage of facts and the way in which these facts were organized. In rereading Redfield's study in the light of my

⁵ Some sociologists like Mannheim would go even farther. He writes, "It could be shown in all cases that not only do fundamental orientations, evaluations, and the content of ideas differ, but that the manner of stating a problem, the sort of approach made, and even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected and ordered, vary according to the social position of the observer." Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 13.

⁶ See Lewis, "Social and Economic Changes in a Mexican Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1944).